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A Study of the Role of Krisa in the Mycenaean Era

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A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF KRISA IN THE MYCENAEAN ERA

by

Edward W. Kase

Thesis submitted to the faculty of the
Graduate School of Loyola University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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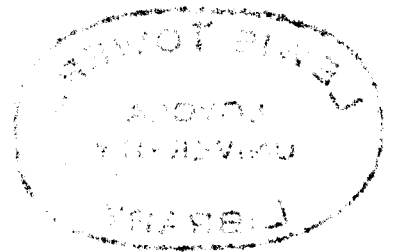


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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASA	<u>The American Journal of Archaeology.</u>
BCH	<u>Bulletin de Correspondance hellenique.</u>
BSA	<u>The Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.</u>
CAH	<u>Cambridge Ancient History.</u>
RA	<u>Revue archaologique.</u>
RE	<u>Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</u>

Chronological terms:

M.H. II	Middle Helladic II, <u>ca.</u> 1750 B.C.
M.H. III	Middle Helladic III, <u>ca.</u> 1650 B.C.
L.H. I	Late Helladic I, <u>ca.</u> 1580 B.C.
L.H. II	Late Helladic II, <u>ca.</u> 1500 B.C.
L.H. III A	Late Helladic III A, <u>ca.</u> 1400 B.C.
L.H. III B	Late Helladic III B, <u>ca.</u> 1300 B.C.
L.H. III C	Late Helladic III C, <u>ca.</u> 1180 B.C.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An investigation into the role of Krisa in the Mycenaean civilization has led to the following hypothesis: Krisa was not only an important land power of north central Greece, but was also an outstanding sea power on the body of water now called the Corinthian Gulf, and was possibly the controlling fortress and transfer center on the southern end of an active isthmus trade route to and from the Malian Gulf area.

Earliest written evidence about Krisa (cf. below) set down by the ancient authors, both Greek and Roman, was examined by the writer, and though a certain controversy, that concerning the Catalogue of Ships, Iliad II 494ff., must be taken into consideration,¹ in oral tradition one is always

¹The Mycenaean origin of the Catalogue of Ships has been accepted by some scholars, notably T. W. Allen, The Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Oxford: 1921), p. vii; V. Burr, "Untersuchungen zum Homerischen Schiffskatalog," KLIO, Beiheft 49 (1944), pp. 6-17; D. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1963), pp. 118-154; V. R. d'A. Desborough and N. G. L. Hammond, "The End of Mycenaean Civilization and the Dark Ages," CAH, fasc. 13 (1964), 22; R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad (Oxford: 1970), pp. 153-175; also the following

able to find a kernel of truth on which to expand. For example, the latest surface surveys by Hope Simpson and Lazenby and by Victor Burr lend credence to the geography of the Catalogue of Ships as related to the areas of Phocis and bordering areas, Boeotia, the Malian Gulf, west Locris, and Aetolia.¹

Basic archaeological research into the pre-historic era of Krisa was done by the French in the middle thirties, and the available archaeological reports and reports of early travelers were compared with the ancient literary writings. Also the material in reports of recent studies has been collated to focus in on the problem.²

cited by Burr, loc.cit.: R. Schadewalt, A. Zweymüller, V. Berard, and T. A. Herrmann. Contra as cited by Burr, loc.cit., are: M. N. Nilson, B. Niese, W. Schmid, W. Leaf, E. Meyer, C. Picard, F. Jacoby, and U. v. Wilamowitz. See also F. Hampl, "Der Ilias ist kein Geschichtsbuch," Serta Phil. Aenipontana (Innsbruck: 1962), pp. 37ff., and for bibliography of opposing points of view cf. especially pp. 58ff.

¹Hope Simpson and Lazenby, op. cit., pp. 19-50, 107-110, 127-131; Burr, op. cit., pp. 18-37, 86-93.

²For the bibliography of ancient writers and other source material, also for the discussion relative to the Krisa-Kirrha question, before the excavations of 1935-1938, it will suffice to point out Pieske, RE, XI (1922), cols. 1887-1889. See also William Smith (ed.), Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography (Boston: 1854), I, 706, col. 2, who accepts as most complete, before excavations, the investigations made by Ulrichs in the identification of Krisa, and see the discussion of proper identification of Krisa by the early travelers in J. G. Frazer, Pausanias's Description of Greece (London: 1913), V, 461. The following excavation reports specifically identify Krisa: L. Lerat and J. Jannoray, "Premieres Recherches sur L'Acropole de Krisa (Phocide)," RA, Series 6, VIII (1936), 129ff.; J. Jannoray and H. van Effenterre, "Fouilles de Krisa," BCH, LXI (1937), 299ff.; P. Lemerle, "Chronique des Fouilles 1937: Kirrha," BCH, LXI (1937), 457ff.; J. Jannoray and H. van Effenterre, "Fouilles de Krisa," BCH, LXII (1938), 110ff. For additional identification of Krisa after the start

Detailed modern maps and charts (cf. below) were used for comparative purposes, and ancient maps of the area, as they appear in historical atlases, were also compared with the modern maps.

In addition, the writer, in 1967 and in 1968, examined the Parnassos promontory and the extant walls. Photographs of the area and the extant remains, taken by the writer, appear in the text of this study. At the same time, the topography of the area in the Pleistos River Valley and in and around Krisa from Itea northward into the "sea of olives" at the base of Mount Kirfus was examined. The examination of all the above mentioned materials has led the writer to the hypothesis concerning Krisa.

The data used in this study has led to a hypothesis which consistently appears to be valid when tested by a comparison of Krisa with other Mycenaean power citadels. When the comparison is made, in keeping with the accepted history of that ancient Mycenaean civilization, Krisa fits into the picture as another typical palace-fortress complex which dominated its own geographical and political region.

When the writer first saw the site of Krisa, its

of excavations see: J. Jannoray, "Krisa, Kirrha et La Première Guerre Sacree," BCH, LXI (1937), 33ff.; J. Roger and H. van Effenterre, "Krisa-Kirrha," RA, Ser. 6, XXI (1944), 15ff.; L. Lérat, "Krisa," RA, Ser. 6, XXXI (1948), 621ff.; G. Forrest, "The First Sacred War," BCH, LXXX (1956), 33ff.; Burr, op. cit., 31ff.; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, op. cit., pp. 41, 153, 164, 167.

impressive position and size and proximity to the Corinthian Gulf invited investigation. Because there is a need for the collation and synchronization of the available material about Mycenaean activity in central Greece around the Corinthian Gulf, the writer believes that this study will add some knowledge to the late Bronze age history of this area, and, hopefully, that it will stimulate further archaeological investigation in depth of the area of ancient Phocis and the Malian Gulf. If this area were thoroughly investigated by archaeological excavations which could form the basis of a social and economic analysis of this somewhat shadowy area of pre-historic Greek history of the Mycenaean period, then there could develop a much broader picture of the L.H. period. It might even be possible to explain many of the problems connected with the Dorian invasion and the Pythian Apollo.

The investigation into the available archaeological data led to the fact that the ruins on the promontory of Mount Parnassos were indeed those of Mycenaean Krisa¹ and that the port area located at Xeropigado, populated up to the L.H. I, probably was also Krisa.² Both settlements had been inhabited during the M.H. II, M.H. III, and the L.H. I; however, the population of the settlement at the water's edge seems to have moved to the acropolis of Hagios Georgios at the end of L.H. I.

¹Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, pp. 299-326; LXII, pp. 110-147.

²Roger and van Effenterre, op. cit., pp. 15-20; Lerat, op. cit., pp. 621-632; Pieske, op. cit., col. 1887-92.

Roger and van Effenterre feel that the Hellenic name of Kirrha which is applied to the site of Xeropigado was just a later form of the ancient name of Krisa.¹ Pottery finds from M.H. II through L.H. I were practically identical in the ruins of both settlements of the same name,² but this study of Krisa of the L.H. period will refer only to the settlement on the acropolis from L.H. I through the end of the L.H. III C period.

The acropolis of Krisa was examined and photographed by the writer in September, 1967 in the company of Dr. Paul Wallace, now of Dartmouth College, and again in September, 1968 in the company of Dr. George Szemler of Loyola University, Chicago.³ Observations were tape recorded on the site.

The south side of Mount Parnassos extends south westward, bearing about 238° true, as a promontory into the "sea of olives" of the Krisaeon Plain and ends in a rocky spur (Fig. 1). The citadel is situated on the southwest extremity of the promontory (Fig. 2), the area of which is now cultivated (Fig. 2a). The promontory was practically impregnable to the south and to the southwest because of the vertical cliff which extends upward from the floor of the valley to a height of 100 meters at the point of the acropolis⁴ and up to a height of 142 meters

¹Roger and van Effenterre, op. cit., p. 18.

²Lemerle, op. cit., pp. 457-464; Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXII, 110-147.

³For the location of the acropolis of Krisa in relation to the modern port city of Itea, the Krissaeon Gulf and modern Delphi, see map (#2).

⁴Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, plate XXIII.



Fig. 1.--Promontory of Parnassos--toward the southwest. Citadel of Kisa in center of photograph.



Fig. 2.--Citadel of Kisa is right of center--marked by white chapel--toward southwest.



Fig. 2a.--Tip of promontory showing citadel area next to white chapel--toward the southwest.

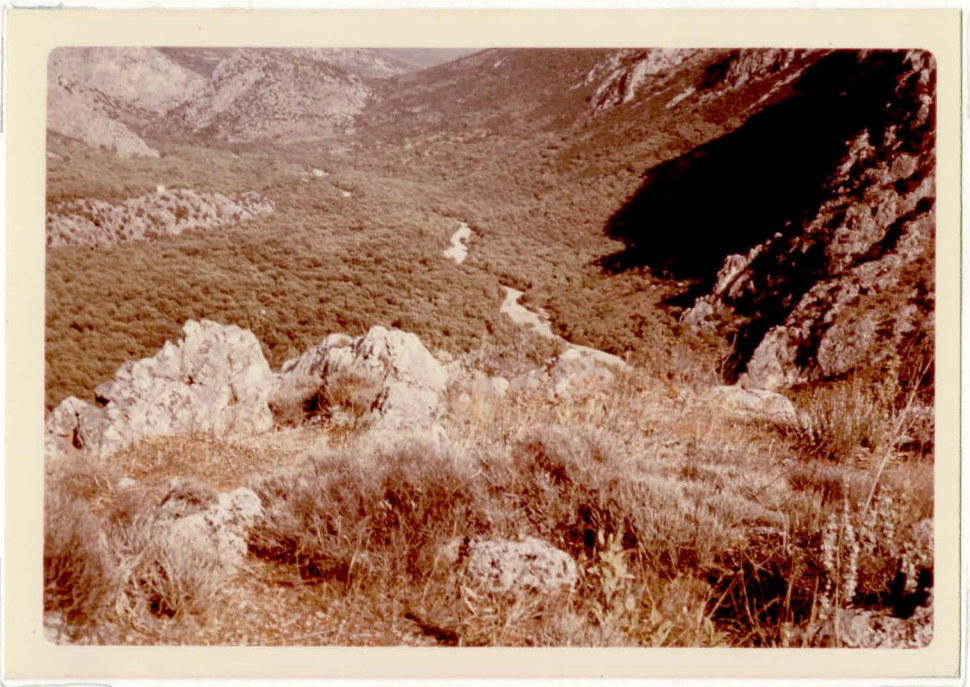
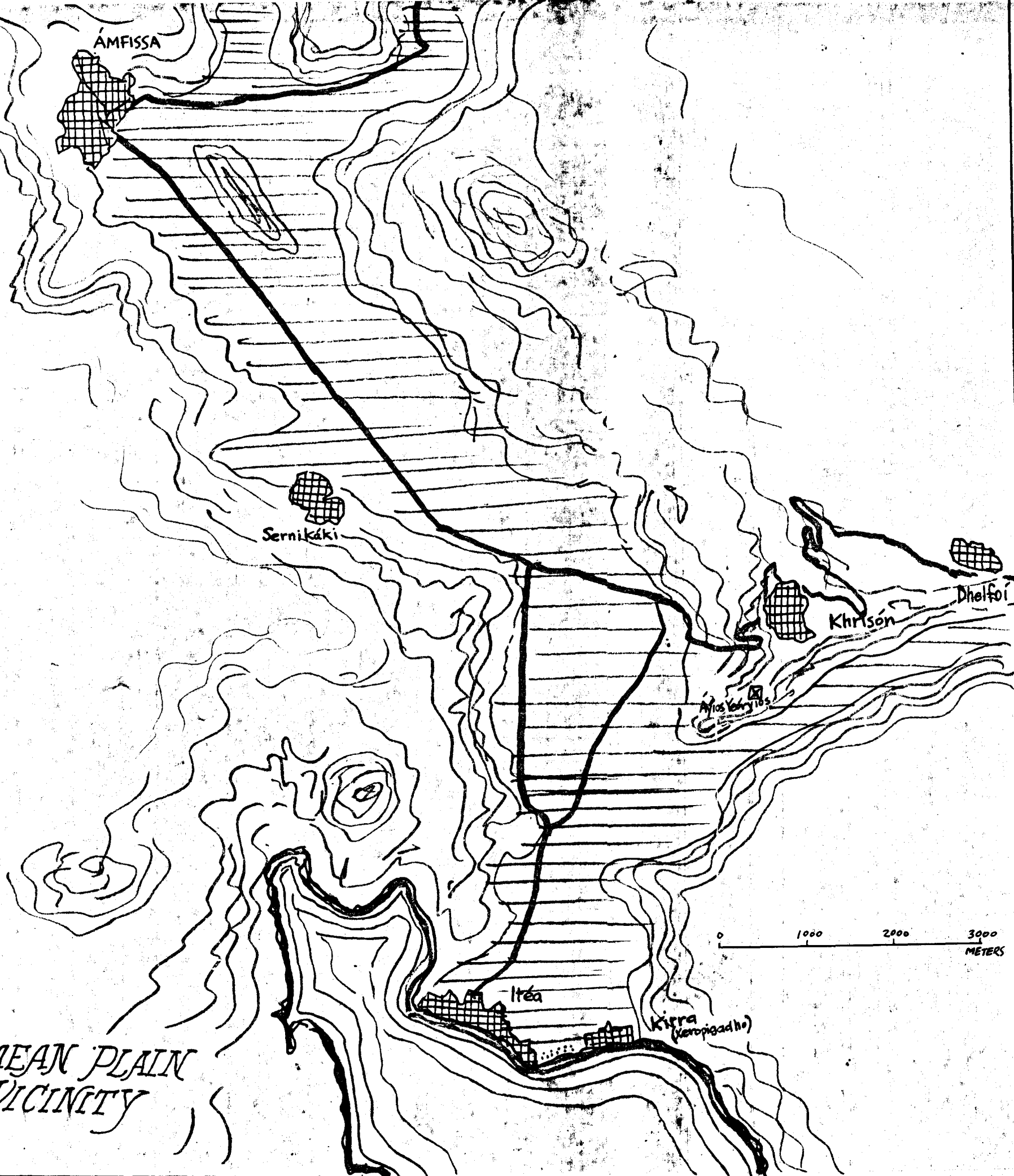


Fig. 3.--Pleistos Valley from anchor point of wall--toward the east.

*KRISAEAN PLAIN
and VICINITY*



at the anchor point of the wall¹ (See especially Fig. 2, taken with a long lens from high up on Mount Parnassos).

The wall, approximately 1500 meters long,² was traced in its entirety from its anchor point on the southeast which overlooks the Pleistos Valley (Figs. 3 and 4). From this point the wall extends to the northwest, bearing about 315° true, forming a convex course. At the anchor point on top of the vertical cliff is located the base of what appears to have been a round watch tower (Fig. 5), the construction of which is similar to the base of a tower (identified by French archaeologists on Map #1³) in the ravine to the west (Fig. 6). Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 show the commanding view of the Pleistos Valley to the south and directly to the east, and the road which must have gone through this valley in antiquity.⁴

With few exceptions (Fig. 7), most of the section of the wall running northwest and west was of one course in height with inner and outer faces visible. For the course of the wall see the map (#1). The only break in the wall was at a point along the east-west transverse course (Fig. 8) and this break was identified as the gate which was wide enough for a chariot to pass through.⁵ As the wall bends to the southwest

¹Lerat and Jannoray, op. cit., p. 131.

²Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, p. 324.

³Ibid., plate 28.

⁴Lerat and Jannoray, op. cit., p. 131; G. Busolt, Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaeroneia (2d ed.; Stuttgart: 1893), p. 691.

⁵Lerat and Jannoray, op. cit., p. 134.



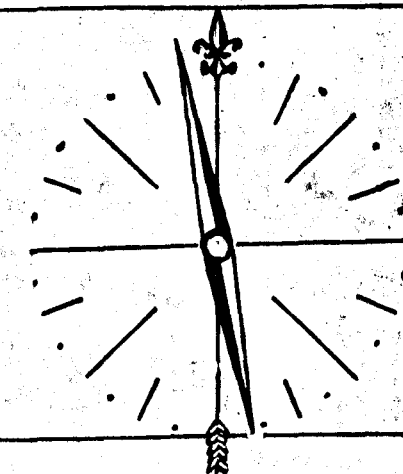
Fig. 4.--
Pleistos Valley--
to the southwest.



Fig. 5.--Base of watchtower at east anchor
point of wall.

KRISA (PHOCIDE) PLAN D'ENSEMBLE...

MAP #1



PLAINE DE KRISA

60

65

70

75

80

90

95

100

105

110

115

120

125

130

135

140

145

BASTION

PORTE

PLEISTOS

VALLEE

DU

MAP #1

0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 METRES

Acropole de Krisa



Fig. 6.--Base of watch tower--west ravine.

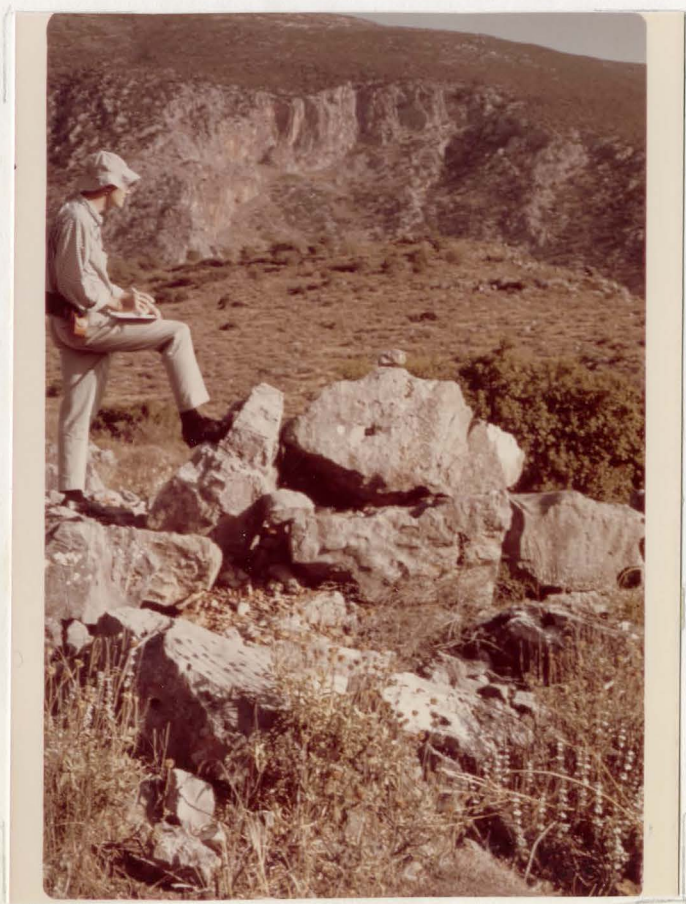


Fig. 7.--
Lower course of north
wall.



Fig. 8.--Gate opening in north wall--
toward the southeast.



Fig. 9.--Courses of stone in situ in outer
face of west wall.

and then to the south, the remains are much more impressive, actually Cyclopaean (Fig. 9). The inner and outer faces and filling can be clearly seen as that section of the wall, running south, dips down toward the ravine (Fig. 10). The wall here is about four meters from face to face whereas on the north it is about one meter wider. Five and six courses of stone can still be seen in situ along the outer face of this southern course of the wall (Fig. 9). Measurements of some of these huge stones (Fig. 11) are described by Frazer as being upward of nine feet long and five feet high,¹ and the writer would estimate the height of part of the extant wall as being in excess of three meters. The whole area inside the wall to the east of the acropolis is extremely rocky and covered with a low growth, particularly holly oak.

At the western side of the plateau, where the wall makes a right-angle turn to the west from its southward course, is the lowest elevation of the plateau, approximately seventy-two meters from the valley floor (See Map #1). Immediately to the east of this point, about ten meters, the local boys who acted as our guides in 1968, pointed to an area which they claimed represented the position of the ancient well or water supply. It is interesting to note that the archaeological reports did not make any mention of finding the water supply.² That the vegetation at this point seemed to be more verdant and plentiful might lend some credence to the

¹Frazer, op. cit., p. 460.

²Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, and LXII.



Fig. 10.--
Southward course of
west wall.



Fig. 11.--Comparative size of Cyclopaeian
stone.

observation of our guides.

One concludes from the examination of the whole promontory area, the walls, and the position of the citadel that the citadel of Krisa was indeed in a position of great strength and, as an admirable site for an acropolis, it seems far enough from the sea to have had shelter in case of attack, yet certainly would have been in a position to have commanded all traffic northward from the Krisaeon Gulf or southward in the direction toward this gulf.

CHAPTER II

MYCENAEAN KRISA: A LAND POWER OF NORTH CENTRAL GREECE

That Krisa was a land power during the Mycenaean period can be concluded by the following three aspects:

- 1) its geographic location which was favorable to commerce,
- 2) its topographic advantage of strength, and 3) its size and development.

1) For commercial communication to the inland areas of Phocis, and possibly to northwest Boeotia, from the sea, Krisa was located in a most favorable geographic position because of the only wide, flat break in the long mountain chain which extends along the entire north coast of the Corinthian Gulf.¹ At this point the wide Krisaeon Plain extends from the sea for twelve kilometers to Amphissa and beyond,² and there is no easier inland access, let alone one which has the added

¹U.S. Naval Oceanographic Office [Hereinafter referred to as "U.S. Navy."], H.O. 3963; Hellenic Army Geographical Service, Athens, Greece, Confidential Series 708 [Hereinafter referred to as "Greek Maps."], Nos. 1717 I, 1817 I, 1817 IV, 1917 I, 1917 II, 1917 III, 2017 III, Scale: 1:50,000.

²Her. 8.32; Strabo 9.3.3; Smith, op. cit., p. 707; Frazer, op. cit., pp. 458-459; also the writer examined and photographed the area.

advantage of leading from a protected harbor.¹

There is abundant evidence that roads connected Mycenaean citadels with the areas round-about them, and that politico-geographic entities had to be connected with others since economic and cultural unity demanded such inter-communication.² Thus it follows that the main road northward from the head of the Krisaeon Gulf would divide at the spur of the promontory -- one road going to the east up the Pleistos Valley to Delphi and northeastern Phocis, and on toward Boeotia, and the other road going north to Amphissa, Doris, and on to northern Greece.³ A Mycenaean road going in a westerly direction has been traced from the gate in the north enclosure wall on the promontory of Krisa.⁴

There is also evidence that a road went through the area of Krisa in the early seventh century, up the Pleistos Valley to Panopeus and the Euripos,⁵ and since there is evidence that such a road has connected the Krisa area to inland

¹Strabo 9.3.1; Paus. 9.32.2, 10.37.2; A. W. Gomme, "The Topography of Boeotia and the Theories of M. Berard," BSA, XVIII (1911-1912), 203-206; U. S. Navy, loc. cit.; Greek Maps, loc. cit.

²A. Heurtley, "Notes on the Harbours of S. Boeotia and Sea-Trade between Boeotia and Corinth in Prehistoric Times," BSA, XXVI (1923-1925), 38-45; E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age (Chicago: 1964), pp. 161, 237, 263; A. E. Samuel, The Mycenaeans in History (Englewood Cliffs: 1966), pp. 101-104.

³Frazer, op. cit., p. 464; Lerat and Jannoray, op. cit., p. 131; Burr, op. cit., p. 31; A. Philippson and E. Kirsten, Die Griechischen Landschaften (Frankfurt am Main: 1951), p. 405.

⁴Lerat and Jannoray, op. cit., p. 131; Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, p. 325.

⁵Strabo 8.6.20; Busolt, op. cit., p. 691.

sites, it could be reasoned that such a road could have been used in the Mycenaean period, especially since Panopeus was in the same political sphere as Krisa at that time.¹ Hope Simpson's description and evaluation of Panopeus, that Panopeus guarded the routes to the north and to the east, lends some credence to this hypothesis.² If one accepts the aforementioned theory that Mycenaean centers were linked by roads,³ one could believe that it is quite possible that an examination of the east route as described above might reveal traces of a Mycenaean road.

Desborough, on the evidence of pottery, points to a probable road through Phocis to Thessaly and this could be only the route to the west of Krisa which went to the north through Amphissa.⁴ Frazer studied that possible northern route and found that the trip from Amphissa to Gravia was a matter of only five or six hours.⁵ Although Frazer did not mention sighting any traces of Mycenaean roads, possibly that was because he was not looking for them. However, since Krisa

¹Iliad ii. 517-524; Burr, op. cit., pp. 15ff.; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, op. cit., pp. 153-158.

²Burr, op. cit., p. 32; R. Hope Simpson, A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites (University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Suppl. 16: 1965), No. 440; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

³"Chariots and farm carts could travel with fewer bumps than in later classical days:" Vermeule, op. cit., p. 161, and see especially p. 237.

⁴V. R. d'A. Desborough, The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors (Oxford: 1964), p. 16.

⁵Frazer, op. cit., p. 464.

controlled the junction of the main passes into a well-populated area,¹ one could assume that Krisa must have been a land-power citadel in the Mycenaean period.²

2) If the geographic position contributed to the importance of Krisa as a land power, surely the topographic position of strength contributed to this importance also. Krisa was indeed in a position of strength as noted by the writer's examination of the whole area and shown in Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3 and Fig. 4. Not only did the position of strength high up on the promontory control the road system, but the Krisaeon Gulf was only four kilometers away and fully visible from the acropolis (Fig. 12).³

The impregnability of the site was described in detail above.⁴ To the west are the ever-rising mountains stretching into Aetolia, to the north and east is Parnassos, and to the southwest is Mount Kirphis. In the center of this

¹Vermuele, op. cit., p. 257; J. L. Caskey, "Greece and the Aegean Islands in the Middle Bronze Age," CAH, fasc. 45 (1964), 8.

²"Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass dieser fruchtbare Landstrich, der zugleich eine wichtige Verbindungsstrasse vom korinthischen Golf zu den Thermopylen und nach Thessalien darstellt, in mykenischer Zeit nicht besiedelt und durch keine Burg gesichert gewesen sein sollte:" Burr, op. cit., p. 31.

³Lerat and Jannoray, op. cit., pp. 129-145; Greek Maps, op. cit., 1817 I.

⁴W. M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece (London: 1835), II, 564-566; Burr, op. cit., p. 31; Philipponson and Kirsten, op. cit., p. 405; Hope Simpson, op. cit., No. 447; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, op. cit., p. 41.



Fig. 12.--
Citadel--marked by
white church--in
relation to Krisaeon
Gulf--to the south-
west.



Fig. 13.--Hyaleithos Valley to west of
promontory--to the northwest.

mountainous district on an easily defensible acropolis-type promontory, Krisa commanded the excellent agricultural land of the Krisaeon Plain, the Pleistos and Hyaleithos Valleys, and thereby gained its strategic significance. (Fig. 13).

Other recognized powers of Mycenaean Greece, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos, were located in somewhat similarly strategic positions.¹

3) The size and development of Krisa also identifies it as a land power. It is the largest known site in that area of Greece.² Of the other well-known sites, only the fortress of Gla would be comparable to it in the size of the area which was behind the protecting walls,³ and the area of Krisa would be about ten times the size of Mycenae or Tiryns.⁴

The excavators described the large Krisa fortress and compared it to Eutresis in that the wall enclosed not only the city itself but also a large free space intended to

¹The author has examined and photographed the well-known Mycenaean sites in the Peloponnese, Attica and central Greece.

²Hope Simpson, op. cit., No. 447.

³The area of Krisa is calculated at approximately 290,000 square meters inside the protected area: Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, plate 23; Desborough, op. cit., p. 30; F. H. Stubbings, "The Recession of Mycenaean Civilization," CAH, fasc. 39 (1965), 15.

⁴30,000 square meters are calculated inside the walls of Mycenae: G. Mylonas, Mycenae: A Guide to Its Ruins and Its History (Athens: 1967), p. 10; the need for large areas inside the walls of cities in the Argolid was probably not as urgent as in Phocis since there were more walled cities in the former area to absorb the dense population: Vermeule, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

house people and herds from the plains below in case of an attack¹ and which could also support emergency agriculture.² While Ålin uses the word "Fluchtburg" in his description of Krisa,³ Stubbings notes that other powerful Mycenaean citadels as Mycenae and Tiryns, also provided an emergency area for herds and people from the plains below.⁴ It follows then, by the size of its emergency enclosure, that a large population⁵ and many settlements in the Krisaeen Plain⁶ looked up to Krisa for their protection. Indeed, research has indicated that all of Phocis, which included the Krisaeen Plain, was rich in agricultural land with many large and small settlements.⁷

That Krisa was a rich and powerful city is further proved by the excavation reports.⁸ Excavations of Mycenaean Krisa on the acropolis was very difficult because Byzantine construction had been directly superimposed upon and had in-

¹Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, 323.

²Lerat and Jannoray, op. cit., p. 135.

³P. Ålin, Das Ende der Mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem Griechischen Festland (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Vol. I; Lund: 1962), p. 131.

⁴F. H. Stubbings, "The Expansion of Mycenaean Civilization," CAH, fasc. 26 (1964), 12; Vermuele, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

⁵Beloch estimated 30,000 free people in Phocis (20 per square kilometer) if one took as a basis only the Kephissos plain: J. Beloch, Die Bevölkerung der Griechisch-Römischen Welt (Leipzig: 1886), p. 175.

⁶Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, 323; Caskey, loc. cit.; Desborough, op. cit., p. 221.

⁷Burr, op. cit., p. 30; Caskey, loc. cit.

⁸Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, 299-326, LXII, 110-147.

truded into L.H. III B-C structure,¹ and L.H. structures had intruded into some M.H. structures which had been simply used again.² Also unfortunately, not all of the areas of excavation of the Mycenaean period were reported,³ yet the reports did reveal a palace complex which Jannoray and van Effenterre compare to that of Mycenae, especially because of a megaron.⁴ In Area F a paved street and a second megaron eleven meters long were found,⁵ and in Area G was found a third megaron along with steps which would possibly indicate a second floor.⁶ Thus the ruins on the citadel area show a typical Mycenaean palace complex with numerous rooms, megarons, a paved street, and a multi-storied construction which is comparable to the palace complexes of Mycenae and Tiryns.⁷

The beginning of Krisa's development can be traced back to the M.H. period.⁸ The excavators suggest that the fortress of the Homeric dynasty of Krisos, that of Strophios and Pylade, was on this very place,⁹ and the reports delineate that

¹Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, 301.

²Ibid., p. 315.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 316, especially note 2.

⁵Ibid., pp. 318-320.

⁶Ibid., p. 323.

⁷Vermeule, op. cit., pp. 162-165; Samuels, op. cit., pp. 50-51; F. H. Stubbings, "The Rise of Mycenaean Civilization," CAH, fasc. 18 (1965), p. 20.

⁸Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, 301.

⁹Lerat and Jannoray, op. cit., p. 135; Iliad 11.517-524.

Krisa developed continually from M.H. I through L.H. III B or possibly into L.H. III C in spite of severe damage or even a temporary destruction in M.H. II.¹ Krisa remained a large and prosperous city well into the L.H. period at a time when the prosperity of other cities was declining or the cities were disappearing altogether.² By the extent of the pottery finds, the excavation reports confirm the increased sophistication of the city.³ In fact with the exception of Thebes, no other city in Phocis or Boeotia evidenced such continuity,⁴ with the apex of its power in the Mycenaean period.

The memory of this power could well have been preserved in the Iliad and in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.⁵ Hope Simpson feels that the divisions represented in the Catalogue of Ships in reality represent political divisions of the Mycenaean age.⁶ Furthermore, the surveys of Hope Simpson and Lazenby show that the places referred to in the Catalogue are typical Mycenaean

¹Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXII, 110-147; Desborough, op. cit., p. 221, and Alin, op. cit., p. 131 who reports "granary" style pottery.

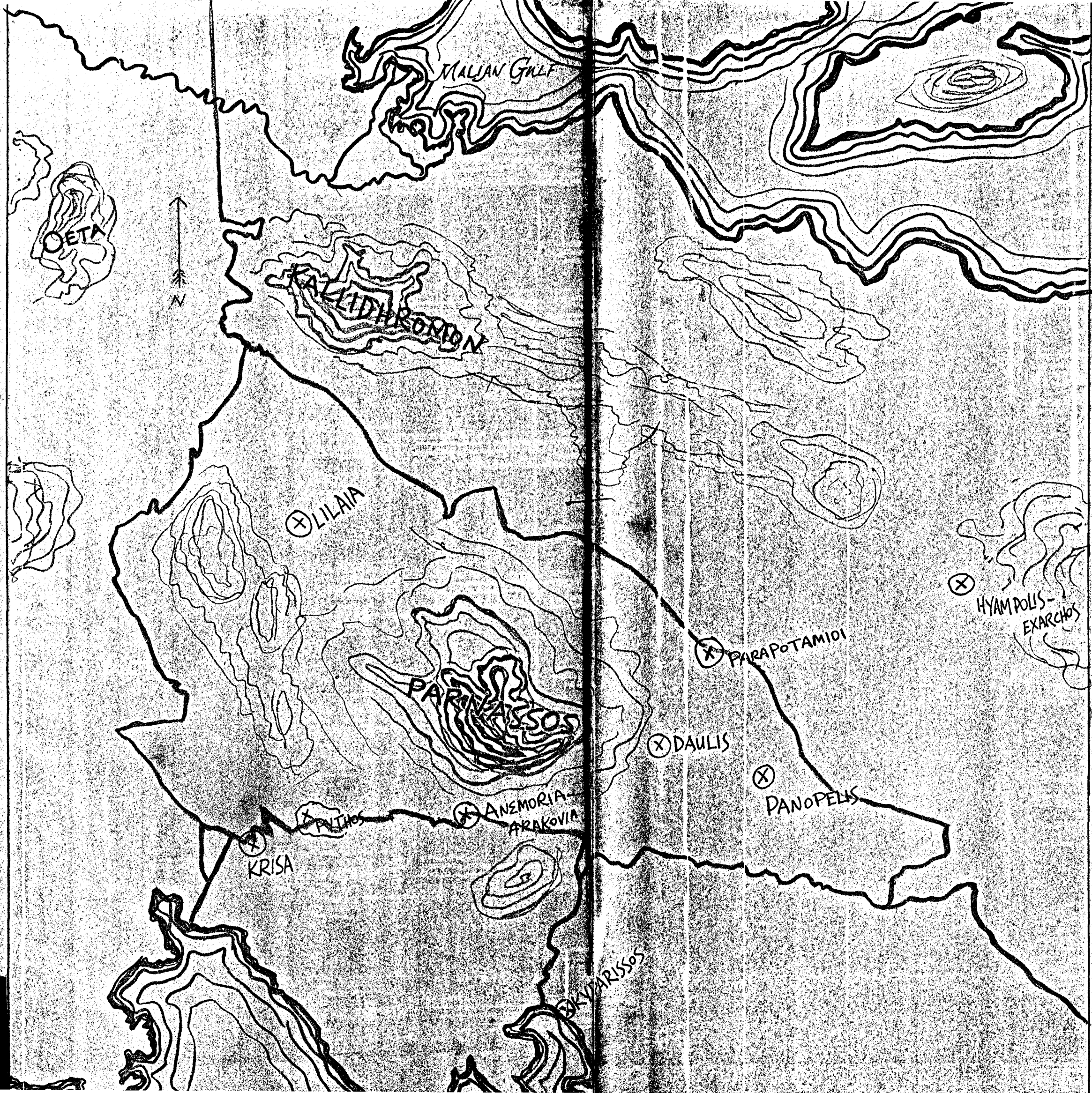
²Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXII, 125; Stubbings, op. cit., fasc. 39, 13.

³Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, 318-320, LXII, 112.

⁴Ibid., p. 124.

⁵Iliad ii.517-526; Hymn to Apollo (The Loeb Classical Library, trans. H. G. Evelyn-White; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) 269-271, 282-284, 438-439, 443; Diod. Sic. 16.23.

⁶For the location of the acropolis of Krisa in relation to the whole of Phocis and the location of the sites mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships, see Burr, op. cit., pp. 30-34; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, op. cit., pp. 39-46; also Map #3.



sites, areas which were easily defensible on an acropolis type hill, which commanded good agricultural areas, and had the ever necessary water supply.¹

Thus, the citadel of Krisa had all of the necessary qualifications to have been a land power in the Mycenaean period. It had the necessary strategic geographical location, land areas to support adequate agriculture for a large population, a topographical position of impregnability, a large size and a development over a long period of time. Also, since excavations and surface surveys revealed that Krisa, in the whole area of the political division of Phocis, had the only palace complex, and since Mycenaean palace-fortresses controlled the territory, trade, and even other walled settlements in a given political sphere,² then it would follow that indeed Krisa had been a rich and powerful city.

¹Hope Simpson and Lazenby, op. cit., pp. 44-45, and 157.

²Vermuele, op. cit., pp. 232-236.

CHAPTER III

MYCENAEAN KRISA: A SEA POWER

The available literary, geographic and archaeological evidence leads to the favorable consideration of the conclusion that Krisa was also a maritime power on the Corinthian Gulf during the Mycenaean period.

The better literary evidence lies in the fact that in antiquity the Corinthian Gulf was called "Krisaeon." While in 8.2.3 Strabo describes the Corinthian Gulf as extending from the Araxus promontory in Achaia and the mouth of the Evenus River in Aetolia eastward to the limits of Boeotia and Megara, he also says that the area east of Rhium and Antirrhium was called "Krisaeon." In 9.2.1 he says Boeotia bordered on the "Krisaeon Gulf," a term which he repeats frequently as in 9.2.14, 9.21.5, 8.6.21, 6.1.7, 7.7.4, and 8.1.3 in referring to the inner gulf to the east, and in 9.3.1 he called the gulf "Krisaeon" as far as Actium on the Ambracian Gulf. Could it be that oral tradition recognized Krisa's power that far west? We note that in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo 431 and in Thucydides 1.107.3, 2.86.3, and 2.69.1, the eastern part of the gulf was referred to as "Krisaeon," and that the old name "Krisaeon" had continued in use even though after the beginning of the fifth

century it was called "Corinthian."¹

Though Lerat opines, without documented evidence, that the name of "Krisaeon" for the Gulf would date back as early as M.H. I because of the earlier establishment of the Krisa by the sea,² Roger and van Effenterre believe that in the pre-Hellenic period there was a unity of domain where the main city is sometimes near the sea and sometimes on the spur -- the rocky spur which commands the valley.³ Jannoray and van Effenterre believe that Krisa reached the apogee of her power in the Mycenaean period and this would have been the Krisa of the interior.⁴

The significance of the matter lies in the fact that the Gulf was called "Krisaeon"⁵ from very early times, and thus it would follow that the gulf would have been named in recognition of a sea power or at least after a place of some renown on that body of water.

The other literary evidence for Krisa as a maritime power would be in the Catalogue of Ships.⁶ Of all the places named from Phocis, in the Iliad, Krisa is the only one of sufficient size near the sea to have undertaken the project of administering the construction of forty ships. Implementation

¹Xen. Hell. 4.2.9; Poly. 5.3; Livy 26.26, 28.7.8.

²Lerat, op. cit., p. 630.

³Roger and van Effenterre, op. cit., p. 18.

⁴Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXII, 135.

⁵Busolt, op. cit., p. 691.

⁶Iliad ii. 517-524.

of such a project would have required men, food, and raw materials in addition to a knowledge of ship building. Since evidence has been presented that Mycenaean Krisa had manpower,¹ an adequate agricultural economy,² and timber resources,³ and since Krisa, thus implied as the dominant port city of that time, must have built the reputation of shipbuilding in the course of normal sea trade, one can go on to summarize: If, in the emergency situation created by the Trojan War, Krisa was able to rise to the occasion by supplying men and ships, one might well assume that Krisa must have been a sea power on the Krisaeen Gulf for some time before that.

There are a number of geographic characteristics that would lend strength to the hypothesis that Krisa was a maritime power. Some of those characteristics are: 1) location in a position of topographical strength near the sea, 2) easy access inland from the sea, and 3) agricultural resources to support the necessary manpower which would have been needed to carry goods into the interior. In Chapter II evidence shows that Krisa had all of these geographical characteristics, and in addition had the control of trade routes from the harbor to the interior areas containing settlements and population.

¹Supra, p. 23.

²Supra, p. 23.

³Phocis today still has forests: Burr, op. cit., p. 31.

Gomme states:

When you say that a town is situated on a trade route, you do not only mean that foreign trade can easily reach it, but that foreign trade, to reach another place must go through it.

Krisa met the requirements of this statement very well since trade could not only reach Krisa (as will be seen below) but could easily go through it.

Two other geographical assets, that of a good harbor and that of a harbor located in a strategic geographic position will tend to confirm that Krisa was a maritime power on the Krisaeon Gulf in the Mycenaean era.

As for the excellence of the harbor, a study of the available charts and topographical maps of the Corinthian Gulf reveals that the modern Gulf of Itea leads to the largest natural and protected harbor area on the inner gulf on either side.² Even though the sea level was lower in Mycenaean times,³ the detailed chart indicates that a lower water level would not have altered the natural advantages of the harbor.⁴ Beaches could still have been long and sloping. Furthermore, charts and maps reveal that the Gulf of Itea is located at about the strategic geographic center of the east-west axis of

¹Gomme, op. cit., p. 192.

²British Admiralty Chart, Sinus Corinthiacus, surveyed in 1834; U.S. Navy, op. cit., H.O. 3963; Greek Maps, op. cit., 1718 I.

³The sea level has risen about 3.5 meters since classical times: P. Wallace, "Psyttaleia and the Trophies of the Battle of Salamis," AJA, LXXIII (1969), 73.

⁴U.S. Navy, op. cit., H.O. 4092, Scale: 1:25,000.

the inner gulf.¹

Geographic and topographic features along the north coast, east of the Gulf of Itea mitigate against any of those areas being a base for a maritime power if one accepts those requirements set down above. The three most probable areas would have been, from west to east, the bays of Antikyra, Domvrena and Livadostro. According to Gomme, the bay of Antikyra affords good shelter, but the road inland goes up with "astonishing abruptness" and would certainly dissuade any commercial movement inland.² Whereas the bay of Domvrena, immediately to the east, appears large enough and protected, the only usable section which would allow inland communication is that of the modern regular port city of Hagios Ioannes;³ however, in addition to the absence of drinking water, the anchorage area of the port is quite small and exposed to damaging southerly gales.⁴ Livadostro Bay, the site of ancient Kreusis,⁵ was difficult to get to from the Peloponnese, especially from Corinth because of the jutting point of Akra Melangavi and the

¹U.S. Navy, op. cit., H.O. 3963.

²Gomme, op. cit., p. 203; Greek Maps, op. cit., 1917 IV shows a precipital rise up to the height of approximately 450 meters on the inland road with the balance of the area surrounded by mountains up to 900 meters in height.

³Heurtley, op. cit., p. 41

⁴Ibid.

⁵Grosser Historischer Weltatlas (München: 1963), Erster Teil, pp. 18-19.

sudden storms coming down off Mount Kithairon.¹ Even though Heurtley found an ancient road which he identified as Mycenaean running northward high up in the gorge of the Voronieza brook,² a small tributary of the Oreroe which flows into the Livadostro Bay, the passage through the Oreroe river gorge is exceedingly difficult and not conducive to commerce of any great extent. Furthermore, in addition to the scarcity of drinking water,³ topographically there was no protection during bad weather. The ports and the settlements on the northeastern coast of the gulf had almost impossible connecting-roads between them,⁴ and since they served only a small hinterland, there was little possibility of any growth to large ports.⁵ Though pottery identifies a number of Mycenaean settlements along this coast,⁶ geographic and topographic conditions in this area hindered any significant growth.⁷

To the west of the Gulf of Itea to the Araxus promontory, as indicated on the charts and maps,⁸ there are no likely harbors for a maritime power which would have been in competition

¹Xen. Hell. 5.4.17; Paus. 9.42.1

²Heurtley, op. cit., p. 39.

³Gomme, op. cit., p. 204

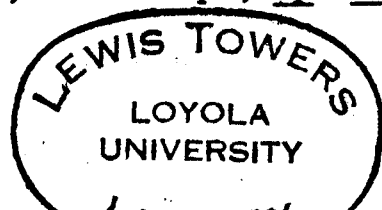
⁴Paus. 10.37.2

⁵Gomme, op. cit., p. 205.

⁶Heurtley, op. cit., p. 44.

⁷U.S. Navy, op. cit., H.O. 3963; Greek Maps, op. cit., 1817 I, 1917 II, 2017 III.

⁸U.S. Navy, op. cit., H.O. 3963; Greek Maps, op. cit., 1617 I, II, 1717 I, II, IV, 1817 IV.



with Krisa simply because none of those areas fit the qualifications set down earlier in this chapter. Furthermore, Hope Simpson's surface surveys have revealed no prehistoric sites of any importance on the coasts of the Corinthian Gulf in this area.¹

The south coast of the Corinthian Gulf from Corinth westward reveal a paucity of good harbors and good inland communications which would have lead to any highly populated area wherein Gomme's statement regarding trade routes would be supported.²

Hope Simpson and Lazenby and Allen feel, however, that the conditions of the Mycenaean period for Corinth may have been much the same as those which made historical Corinth the principal port of Greece.³ On the other hand, whereas Corinth may have been a port during the Mycenaean period because of road connections with the Argolid, there is little evidence to indicate that it was a sea power. This point cannot be followed up at this time, but this study has turned up enough evidence for the importance of Krisa as a sea power to show that even if Corinth had been in some position of strength on the Gulf in Mycenaean times, it certainly did not rule alone, if at all.

Turning from the geographic characteristic of the excellence of Krisa's harbor, one can also note another outstand-

¹Hope Simpson, op. cit., Nos. 309-319.

²Gomme, op. cit., p. 192.

³Hope Simpson and Lazenby, op. cit., pp. 65-66; Allen, op. cit., pp. 64-66..

ing asset of Krisa, that of its strategic geographic location on the inner gulf. Evidence that Krisa had been in a strategic location which could have augmented its sea power can be taken from a parallel in historic times. During the Peloponnesian War, Athens effectively contained Corinth by its control of the Rhium and Antirrhium Straits out of Naupactus.¹ By the same token, Krisa in Mycenaean times, given an adequate fleet of ships,² was in the best geographic position to exercise this control to the point of possibly imposing the use of its ships as the carriers of Krisaeen Gulf commerce or imposing levies on those ships passing through. Thus, the strength of Corinth in the Mycenaean period, suggested by Hope Simpson and Lazenby and Allen, could still have been well contained by Krisa.³

Finally, evidence supports the desirability of Krisa's location as far as the trade routes of the Mycenaean era are concerned. The same possible control by Krisa at the Straits of Rhium and Antirrhium mentioned above would have been applied to the Mycenaean export-import trade with foreign countries. That there was such trade seems to be well evidenced. It appears that a brisk trade had been established with Italy from as early as L.H. I in the area of Etruria on the west coast, specifically at Luni.⁴ At other places, the Lipari Islands,

¹Thuc 2.69.1

²Chapter I of this study contains much evidence to support the conclusion that Krisa was such a land power that it would have had the resources to maintain that adequate fleet.

³Hope Simpson and Lazenby, loc. cit.; Allen, loc. cit.

⁴D. Ridgway, "Archaeology in Central Italy and Etruria, 1962-1967," Archaeological Reports for 1967-1968, Hellenic Society (London: 1968), pp. 31-32.

Scoglio del Tonno, Apulia, and Sicily, there is evidence of Mycenaean trade in L.H. II, L.H. I and even earlier.¹ Vermeule points out that L.H. III A pottery appears in Italy from such places as Athens and Rhodes.² Now this trade could have been carried on from the many export areas of eastern Greece by having the ships go south to the southernmost point of the Peloponnese and then back up north; however, this was probably not the route which was used very often in Mycenaean times. Two pieces of evidence lead one to believe that the isthmus of Corinth and the Krisaeen Gulf would have been the more popular route. In historic times Strabo gives the following advice: "But when you double Malea [at the southern tip of the Peloponnese], forget your home" as he warns of the dangers of that long route.³ Busolt also had reached that same conclusion about the unpopularity of the southern route during Archaic times when he wrote: "Der weite, gefährliche Umweg um die Peloponnesos wurde von allen Seeleuten gern vermieden."⁴ Obviously, if the route through the isthmus of Corinth⁵ and the Corinthian Gulf would have been the shortest and safest route

¹Lord William D. Taylour, Mycenaean Pottery in Italy and Adjacent Areas (Cambridge: 1958), pp. 7ff., 128ff.; Desborough, op. cit., pp. 70, 215; Stubbings, op. cit., fasc. 26, 8, 20.

²Vermeule, op. cit., p. 152.

³Strabo 8.6.20.

⁴Busolt, op. cit., p. 691.

⁵A timber road, known as a diolkos, crossed the isthmus in Archaic times: G. Glotz, Ancient Greece at Work (The Norton Library; New York: 1967), p. 116. Later the road was made of stone.

in historical times,¹ it would follow that this route would have been even more necessary in prehistoric times. The possible control of that export trade at the Straits of Rhium and Antirrhium by Krisa would have applied as well to Mycenaean imports -- metal from Tuscany,² Baltic amber for the Argolid,³ and fibulae and Type II swords from Sicily among other things.⁴ In addition, Krisa's ships apparently had a part to play in the north-south trade as food supplies for the Peloponnese were carried over from the Krisaeen Plain as early as M.H. II.⁵ Apparently food was needed in the south and imported from the north, probably because of the density of the Mycenaean populations.⁶

Archaeological evidence in the area around Krisa would alone lead to a serious consideration of Krisa's involvement in sea trade and to the belief that Krisa's port must have been an active one over a long period of time. In the available

¹See Hesiod's advice to sailors: Hesiod Works and Days 1.663ff.; If the sirocco and etesian wind currents were somewhat the same in Mycenaean times, the sailors would allow for refuge ports enroute. Therefore, the shortest and safest route from most points in the Aegean to Italy would be via the isthmus of Corinth and the Krisaeen Gulf: USAF Operational Navigation Chart, ONC G-3.

²Vermeule, op. cit., p. 257.

³D. E. Strong, Catalogue of the Carved Amber (London: 1966), pp. 6-10, 16-18.

⁴Desborough, op. cit., p. 70.

⁵Caskey, op. cit., fasc.45, 8.

⁶Vermeule, loc. cit.: ". . . more dense than in classical times."

excavation reports appearing in BCH, LXI and LXII, 1937^a and 1938, Jannoray and van Effenterre tell that artifacts were found which would indicate foreign trade relations with Krisa since the beginning of M.H. II. A necklace was found in the tomb of a young girl, and it was similar to the same type of necklace found at Zygouries.¹ A gold thread -- and gold was not of continental Greece origin -- was found in a tomb which had been pillaged.² Relations with Korakou, Mycenae and Prosymna was evidenced in pottery fragments,³ and Group III Type swords from northern Europe were found elsewhere in Phocis.⁴ Other pottery fragments revealed in general a Cycladic and Cretan relationship with Krisa through to L.H. II,⁵ and of the ten types of vessels found at Delphi in the L.H. III B deposits, several were synchronized with Mycenae and Zygouries, two with Ialysos on Rhodes, and one with Enkomi on Cyprus.⁶ Baltic Mycenaean amber was also found at Delphi.⁷

This archaeological evidence supports the hypothesis that Krisa was indeed a commercial sea port and maritime power

¹Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXI, 308.

²Ibid.

³Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXII, 135-137.

⁴H. Catline, "A New Bronze Sword from Cyprus," Antiquity, XXXV (1961), 120.

⁵Jannoray and van Effenterre, op. cit., LXII, pp. 125-137.

⁶A. Furumark, The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery (Stockholm: 1941), pp. 132-145.

⁷C. W. Beck, "Amber in Archaeology," Archaeology, XXIII (1970), 9.

in Mycenaean times. Later, Krisa [Kirrha] of the Archaic period, at the time of the Sacred War (ca. 595 B.C.), was probably also a strong commercial port and maritime power.¹ Sicyon, under Cleisthenes, along with the coalition of the Amphictyonic League, welcomed the opportunity presented by the Oracle of Delphi to make war on Krisa² with the result that the Krisaeian maritime control was destroyed.³ Glotz points up the savagery of commercial competition in the Archaic period.⁴ It then could follow that, since the Mycenaean period had its local internecine wars, Greek against Greek, as recorded in the poetic records,⁵ and, since, based upon archaeological evidence, many of the destructions in L.H. III B cannot be explained even when one attempts to attribute them to the Dorian invasion,⁶ one could consider the possibility that a coalition (perhaps involving Corinth), similar to that of the Amphictyonic League at the end of the seventh century, might well have destroyed the land and sea power of Krisa at the end of L.H. III B.⁷

¹Strabo 9.3.4; Busolt, op. cit., pp. 691-692.

²H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle (Oxford: 1956), I, 99ff.

³C. H. Skalet, "Ancient Sicyon with a Prosopographia Sicyonia," The John Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, ed. D.M. Robinson (Baltimore: 1928), No. 3, pp. 55-56.

⁴Glotz, op. cit., p. 123.

⁵Vermeule, op. cit., p. 237; Aeschylus Seven Against Thebes; Epigonoi.

⁶Desborough and Hammond, op. cit., pp. 3ff.

⁷Stubbings, op. cit., fasc. 39, 13-20; see also Parke and Wormell's discussion on the very early origin of the Amphictyonic League of Delphi: Parke and Wormell, op. cit., pp. 99ff.

In summary, the available literary, geographic and archaeological evidence shows that Krisa could have been second to none as the maritime power on the Krisaeon Gulf during the Mycenaean period.

CHAPTER IV

MYCENAEAN KRISA: CONTROLLING FORTRESS AND TRANSFER CENTER

Since it has been established that Krisa was a land and maritime power located in an obviously strategic geographical position in central Greece, it is then possible that Krisa could well have been a controlling transfer center on the southern end of an active isthmus trade route to and from the Malian Gulf. While similar isthmus trade routes in Boeotia have been considered as possibilities by M. Berard, Gomme's investigations apparently have negated those theories.¹

In order to reach a conclusion, it is essential to study the geography and topography of Phocis and the Malian Gulf in relationship to Thessaly, Boeotia, Euboea, the northern Aegean and the whole of the Krisaeen Gulf.² Such a route northward from the sea at Krisa to Gravia, across the area of the upper Kephissos River to Kato Brallos and then to the mouth of the Asopos Gorge on the Malian Gulf would have been feasible and probable based upon the study of the topographical maps.³ The Mycenaean route would probably not have followed

¹Gomme, op. cit., pp. 189-210.

²USAF, loc. cit.; Greek Maps, op. cit., 1818 I,II, 1918 I,II,III,IV.

³Greek Maps, ibid.

the present modern road. Instead it probably followed the route of existing trails (especially one north of Amphissa) which follow a lower level route, and if so, then at no point between Amphissa and the Asopos Gorge would any pass be higher than 800 meters.¹ The route could have consisted of a combination of pack animal trails and roads for wheeled carts.² The northern terminus of the route probably could have been Trachis on the sea³ about which Herodotus wrote in VII, 199ff. He says that in this district was the largest area of black land between the mountains and the sea near the mouth of the Asopos River. Herodotus also says that the Asopos flowed into the sea not far from the mouth of the gorge.⁴ Thus Trachis, in Mycenaean times, would have been at or near the water and could have been in a position to handle ships from the northeast.⁵ The conclusion that an isthmus route was probable in Mycenaean times could also be drawn from an Archaic parallel as stated

¹Greek Maps, op cit., 1818 I,II. It is the writer's intention to investigate the area between Amphissa and the Malian Gulf to determine likely areas for possible Mycenaean roads.

²Her. vii. 200. There is a space of a single "builded" cartway at the confluence of the Phoenix and Asopos Rivers.

³This Mycenaean site identified by R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, "The Kingdom of Pelius and Achilles," Antiquity, XXXIII (1933), 103.

⁴Her. vii. 199.

⁵Strabo 9.5.8; Paus. 10.20.6ff.; According to Stählin, RE, III A, p. 1627, lines 49-60, the mouth of the Spercheios River has moved fourteen kilometers to the east since 480 B.C. and two kilometers to the north since 1890. That the sea level has risen about three and one half meters or more see Wallace, op. cit., p. 73 and J. G. Hawthorne, "Cenchreae: Port of Corinth," Archaeology, XVIII (1965), 197. Thus it is possible that the port area of Trachis has been silted in.

by Parke and Wormell: ". . . down the direct route from the north over the pass from Doris" ¹ The total distance from the Krisaeon Gulf to Trachis would have been approximately fifty kilometers as measured by possible trails on topographic maps. ² This would not have been a formidable distance over the northwest saddle of Mount Parnassos and possibly over the col connecting Mount Kallidhromon and Mount Oeta in the north or even possibly by pack animal through the Asopos gorge. ³ Frazer made the trip (presumably by animal) at the turn of the century from Amphissa to Gravia in about five hours. ⁴

First, in consideration of the likelihood of trade from Troy and the Hellespont to the west and from ancient Iolcus in Thessaly to central Greece and the Peloponnese, one can study the USAF Operational Navigation Chart ONC G-3 for the computation of approximate distances, bearing in mind the trade route theory as expressed by Gomme:

Traffic from the Hellespont to the West, if it took an isthmus-route at all, and that not the isthmus of Corinth, would pass through the northern straits of Euboea, and land either in the Gulf of Volo or perhaps in the Gulf of Lamia. In either case, the journey thence by land would reach the Gulf of Corinth at Itea, and so would go through Phocis, but would not touch Boeotia. ⁵

¹Parke and Wormell, op. cit., p. 100.

²Greek Maps, op. cit., 1818 I,II.

³For routes in this area see W. K. Pritchett, "New Light on Thermopylae," AJA, LXII (1958), 203-213; P. A. MacKay, "Procopius' De Aedificiis and the Topography of Thermopylae," AJA, LXVII (1963), 241-255.

⁴Frazer, op. cit., p. 464.

⁵Gomme, op. cit., p. 207.

Using Map #4, guided by the legend, approximate distances of probable trade routes can be compared in the five examples detailed below. Gomme's description of the problems facing the Mycenaean sailor¹ have been taken into consideration in plotting the probable routes.

1) Trade from the Troad to the Krisaeen Gulf for transshipment to the markets of southwestern Greece and Italy could use one of two long routes (See routes A and B on Map #4) depending upon the wind currents and the time of the year.

Route A would proceed to Limnos to the west, then southwest via Scyros, then along the coast of Euboea to and around the coast of Attica and then north to the isthmus of Corinth.

Route B would go directly south via Lesbos, Chios, Ikaria, west through the Cyclades and then north to the isthmus of Corinth.

Route A - 280 nautical miles plus 6 km. overland.

Route B - 330 nautical miles plus 6 km. overland.

2) Trade mentioned in paragraph 1) above could take the short route to the Krisaeen Gulf from the Troad west to Limnos, then southwest via Efstratios and Skopelos through the Euboean straits into the Malian Gulf for transshipment overland from Trachis to Krisa.

Short route - 175 nautical miles plus 50 km. overland.

Thus, the short route which uses the isthmus route via Krisa saves over 100 nautical miles plus the extra time involved at sea.

3) If the destination from the Troad would be the city of Corinth and the markets of the Argolid only, the addition

¹Gomme, op. cit., pp. 195-207.

MAP #4

LEGEND: - - - - - SHORT ROUTE TO KORINTH VIA KRISH
 → - - - - - LONG ROUTE TO KORINTH



of forty nautical miles from Krisa to Corinth in relatively sheltered waters compared to the open sea would still result in the saving of about sixty nautical miles.

4) Trade from Iolcus in Thessaly to the Krisaeen Gulf for transshipment to the markets of southern Greece and Italy could use the long route to the isthmus of Corinth via the Euboean straits to the southwest, then southeast via the Euboean Gulf and the Euripos to and around the coast of Attica to the isthmus of Corinth.

Long route - 210 nautical miles plus 6 km. overland.

5) Trade mentioned in paragraph 4) above could take the short route southwest through the straits of Euboea, into the Malian Gulf to Trachis and then tranship overland across the isthmus route to Krisa.

Short route - 75 nautical miles plus 50 km. overland. Thus the short route through the Malian Gulf and overland to Krisa on the Krisaeen Gulf saves 135 nautical miles.

It is obvious from the study of Map #4 and the five examples listed above that trade from the northeast destined for the Krisaeen Gulf, the Peloponnese, and the west would find it advantageous to use the isthmus route through Krisa.

In consideration of the trade route in paragraph 4) above, Gomme examines carefully the possibility of taking the sea route, either along the northeast coast of Euboea or through the Euboean Gulf, and he points to many problems -- currents, winds, the inhospitable port area, lack of fresh water, and the lack of havens in the event of sudden storms.¹ Add to that

¹Gomme, op. cit., pp. 195-207.

the danger of passing through the Euripos with its rapidly fluctuating currents in a very narrow passage, as described by an early nineteenth century traveler: "The current was at this moment falling with nearly as much rapidity as the tide at London Bridge" ¹ In contrast, a desirable route would have been one which provided frequent "en route" places of refuge with food supplies and water because the ship might be detained for several days and it was not large enough to have carried adequate supplies. ² These advantages the route in the Krisaeon Gulf could have offered; it has adequate harbors and bays, and only at the northeast corner are the winds of a dangerous type. ³ Therefore, from the point of view of geography, distance, and dangers of Mycenaean navigation, the natural advantage of the isthmus route through Krisa for a trade route from the northeast is obvious.

In consideration of the role of Krisa as a controlling fortress on the south end of an active trade route, it is necessary to find, as was done above, not only that such a route was possible and desirable, but also that there were people who needed to use this route. "Frequent and easy communication are characteristic of the period," says Stubbings, ⁴ and Mycenaean Greece was more densely populated than in clas-

¹R. Walpole (ed.), Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey (London: 1817), 299.

²Gomme, op. cit., p. 207.

³Ibid., p. 206.

⁴Stubbings, op. cit., fasc.26, 3.

sical times according to E. Vermeule.¹ Archaeological evidence for this density of population comes from various sources as Desborough reports that recent excavations in Thessaly suggest a populous area.² The next most populous area in north central Greece is referred to in the Iliad II, 682-685 as the area which contributed fifty ships captained by Achilles. Geographically, the location has been identified as encompassing the north, west, and southwest coast of the Malian Gulf.³ In the Mycenaean period, this area could have supported a large population as Hope Simpson and Lazenby summarize:

Anyone who holds these four towns holds the valley with all the important communications which lie through it. The district was apparently as fertile in Homeric times as it is today, and a potential strength of fifty ships (and 2500 men? -- Iliad XVI, 168-170) seems not impossible.⁴

Also, Hammond suggests a population extending from Dodona to the Spercheios River valley.⁵ Thus the area of the Malian Gulf very well fits Gomme's definition of a center on a trade route. Since as he said, a trade route depends upon the importance of the areas on each end, both of which send trade

¹Vermeule, op. cit., p. 257.

²Desborough, op. cit., p. 132.

³Her. vii. 199; Strabo 9.5.3, 9.5.7, 9.5.8; Burr, op. cit., pp. 89ff.; Allen, op. cit., pp. 110ff.; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, Antiquity, pp. 102-105; Hope Simpson and Lazenby, The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad, pp. 126-131.

⁴Hope Simpson and Lazenby, Antiquity, p. 105.

⁵N. G. L. Hammond, Epirus (Oxford: 1967), p. 382.

through and beyond the center,¹ these populated areas in Thessaly and those around the Malian Gulf are very important to a conclusion that Krisa was a controlling fortress on the southern end of an active isthmus trade route.

There also is ample evidence that this trade route, which was possible and practical, and which did have populations of great density on both ends, was an active route, having been put to use by traders from many areas. For example, excavations of tholos tombs in Thessaly have revealed the influence of Mycenae on local potters as well as having revealed importations from the Peloponnese such as a painted toy chariot drawn by horses and lead rods which had been found previously only in the Argolid.²

Heurtley also refers to the location in Thessaly of L.H. I pottery, manufactured in Corinth and Mycenae.³ Desborough locates Achaean L.H. III C pottery at Itea, Delphi, and the southern coastal area of Thessaly and points to trade movement from Achaea through the area of Krisa and central Greece to southern Thessaly.⁴

Finally, other than the normal trade between Mycenaean centers, the isthmus trade route would have been the transfer route for a very important Mycenaean import, namely horses

¹Gomme, op. cit., p. 192.

²A.H.S. Megaw, "Archaeology in Greece," Archaeological Reports for 1964-1965 (British School of Archaeology at Athens: 1965), pp. 20-21.

³Heurtley, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

⁴Desborough, op. cit., pp. 16, 227.

from Troy and/or Thrace. Stubbings points out that Mycenaean Greece depended on an imported supply of horses¹ and that they could very well have been imported from Troy.² Vermuele adds silver and textiles and perhaps even grain to the list of needed imports.³

Therefore in searching for the role of Krisa as a possible controlling fortress at the southern end of an isthmus route from the Malian Gulf to the Krisaeon Gulf, we find that available evidence warrants the assumption that a route was possible and even practical as seen in the large populations at both ends of the route which could have profited from the use of the route. This assumption is further strengthened by evidence of trade flourishing from one end of the route to the other in the Mycenaean era.

¹Stubbings, op. cit., fasc.18, 21,29.

²Ibid., fasc. 26, 21.

³Vermuele, op. cit., pp. 257, 261. 275.

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The problem considered in this study was that of the role of Mycenaean Krisa, the citadel on the southwest promontory extending from Mount Parnassos into the Krisaeon Plain to the southwest of Delphi. The initial approach to this problem was the detailed examination of this prehistoric site by the writer when in Greece in 1967 and 1968 in order to ascertain its relative geographic and topographic position in relation to the immediate area surrounding it as well as its proximity to the sea. The extant walls and the enclosed area within the walls were carefully examined, measurements were estimated, and the important remains were thoroughly photographed. Impressions were tape recorded at the site.

As compared to other Mycenaean citadels examined and photographed by the writer, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Gla, Orchomenos, and others, and on the basis of the accepted history and archaeology of these sites, Krisa well fitted the picture of the typical Mycenaean fortress citadel. Examination of the excavation reports published by J. Jannoray and H. van Effenterre which appeared in 1937 and 1938 confirmed the identification of Krisa and the fact that it was indeed a typical Mycenaean fortress and that it had been so since about M. H. II.

Since Krisa was confirmed as the largest Mycenaean site in central Greece, and since it lay in a commanding position in relation to the Krisaeon Gulf, the hypothesis was advanced that it had been an outstanding land and maritime power on the body of water now called the Corinthian Gulf and that it could well have been the controlling fortress on the southern end of an active isthmus trade route to and from the Malian Gulf. The available evidence supports the hypothesis.

Important was the synchronization, evaluation and comparison of many diverse pieces of evidence obtained from ancient writers, early travelers and modern books and publications related to prehistoric Greece. Parallel evidence from historic periods added additional evidence for comparison. Geographic and topographic evidence was revealed by the careful study of many detailed charts and maps from various sources. Especially helpful were the topographic maps supplied by the Hellenic Army Geographic Service, Athens, Greece and the charts from the U.S. Oceanographic Office. The literary, archaeological and historical evidence was supported by geographic and topographic evidence and so synchronized so as to consider that the original hypothesis has been documented.

The writer intends to return to Greece in the near future for the purpose of seeking out traces of Mycenaean roads to the north and east of Krisa. If such evidence is found, the hypothesis would indeed be confirmed.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Edward W. Kase has been read and approved by two members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

May 30, 1970
Date

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